/15 cont./

788 *795 style, violently colored like our Épinal pictures and representing the holy places of Islam or personages of Koranic tradition.

[938] [943] Finally, to complete this immense and noisy fair over which floats an impalpable dust, there, in a corner of the city not far from the mosque, are the keepers of the cook-shops: they cook

[965] in the open the appetizing dishes which they will offer at modest prices to the famished pilgrims.

Evening does not slow down these activities; on the contrary, the pilgrims regroup at the homes of the various marabouts, and sessions of religious songs are organized there. They will

[533] last far into the night, which will resound until dawn with these litanies amplified by numerous loud-speakers.

/16/ In the course of this pilgrimage, the believers have several obligations to fulfill:

1) to call on the Caliph-general,

2) to go to meditate at the tomb of Amadou Bamba and that of Amadou Moustapha,

3) to visit the mosque,

4) to go to see their own marabout,

5) to visit at the cemetery the Sacred Tree and the graves

[1178] of certain deceased notables of the brotherhood.

At the entrance to the carré of the Caliph, the faithful, in a long line, patiently await their turn to go into the residence of their supreme spiritual leader.

After passing through several walls (at the gate of which are talibé-cashiers who claim their offerings from them), they arrive at the hut in which the Caliph receives.

The circle guards maintaining order have them enter one by one into the straw hut where Falílou awaits them, assisted by his secretary and some of his close collaborators. Each pilgrim kneels before the Caliph while presenting to him his offering (hadia), which the sérigne will immediately have passed on to one of his followers. The pilgrim then rises and goes out in order to give his place to another.

[1178] His visit to the Caliph ended, he goes to the sacred tombs of Amadou Bamba and Amadou Moustapha.

/18 cont./

788 *795 to it out of curiosity, but do not fail to be touched by the strength and cohesion of Muridism, and sometimes some of them become disciples of Amadou Bamba.

Besides, the repercussions of the pilgrimage go beyond the bounds of Touba and the brotherhood. The local press, the [204] [207] official information services, and Radio-Dakar attend and participate in it. Radio reporting, newspapers, and films spread sonorous echoes and vivid images of the Magal, not only throughout the Territory, /19/ but throughout the Federation, and this contributes no little toward increasing the glory and prestige of the brotherhood and its leaders in Senegal.

793 *795 If the Magal has assured this character and this importance, it is thanks to the present head of the brotherhood, Falilou M'Backé, and, reciprocally, the aspect thus assumed by this pilgrimage has been one of the elements which have established the second Caliph at the head of the brotherhood.

Actually, at the time of his nomination as Caliph-general, he had to overcome the opposition of his nephew, Cheikh M'Backé, son of Moustapha (who aspired to succeed the latter as he had succeeded his father, Amadou Bamba), whom the council of the Murids had removed from the succession for his benefit.

By directly tying again the tradition of the Magal to the first intentions of Amadou Bamba, he brought about the unity of the Murids around himself.

He has also devoted himself to the building of the mosque, to which he applies all his attention. Not only does he collect for this purpose considerable sums at the time of the Magal, but he also seizes every opportunity to make collections or to have collections made for the benefit of this work. In particular he [533] has his representatives organize throughout the territory night sessions of religious singing in the course of which funds for the mosque are collected.

Thus he has appeared, in the eyes of the Murids, less as the successor to Amadou Moustapha than as the direct continuater

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

[10 cont.]

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533 The griots, those "vipers' tongues," have put together new songs in order to make up for the loss of the spoils of war never to be hoped for again. Without exaggeration or error, one
[583] can assert that the very high cost of the marriage expenses is due only to the griots, who, using their malevolent genius, contrast in their chants the generosity of such and such a man with the parsimony of the other, spicing all the praises with references to his always legendary and generous ancestors.

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583 To dazzle the girl and her relatives with his generosity and his wealth, to wrest from the rivals acknowledgment of their poverty, to overwhelm with goods persons of inferior castes whose praises will never cease, to enrich the prestige and the dignity of his parents-in-law -- there is the origin of the enormous expenses which must be faced by those who marry in Saint-Louis.

The phases of Marriage and their cost

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[584] This is not the place to show what role the girl plays in the act which is going to decide her life. Nevertheless, let us be permitted to affirm that today some freedom is permitted the girl in choosing a spouse, always with the condition that her choice must be a man of her rank. Native society is, in effect, compartmented, and the smith, the jeweler, the cobbler, the griot never becomes attached to a guer (2) woman with the

2. All the persons who do not belong to an inferior caste -- griot, cobbler, etc. Not to be confused with gor, free man, who is not a slave or a freed man.

permission of his parents. Conversely, the guer must remain
[631] in his domain, and the custom which formerly authorized the chiefs to contract marriages with caste women, always under the pretense of conquest in battle, is tending to disappear.